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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## ON THE MEANING OF 'ROMANTIC' IN EARLY GERMAN ROMANTICISM

### PART I

It is generally agreed that the word 'romantic'—which still "über die ganze Welt geht und so viel Streit und Spaltungen verursacht"<sup>1</sup>—was launched upon its tempestuous career through nineteenth century criticism and philosophy by Friedrich Schlegel. It was in the second number of the *Athenæum* (1798) that he first proclaimed the supremacy of "die romantische Poesie," and thus converted the adjective—already a *Modewort* in some of its older uses<sup>2</sup>—into the designation of an æsthetic ideal and the catchword of a philosophical movement. But why was 'romantisch' the word chosen by "the new school" as the shibboleth of their sect? The question is of primary consequence for the general history of Romanticism. To understand the central ideas, the purpose and the program of the first of the many who have been called Romanticists, it is obviously needful to understand what

<sup>1</sup> Goethe to Eckermann, March 21, 1830. Goethe's own claim to have, with Schiller, originated this use of the word, or the idea which it expresses, will be touched upon below.

<sup>2</sup> Though instances of the use of the word in the seventeenth century can be cited, it came into fashion only after the middle of the eighteenth, chiefly, at least in its application to landscape, in consequence of the vogue of the translations of Thomson's *Seasons*. An interesting contribution to the earlier history of the word in Germany has been made by J. A. Walz, "Zum Sprachgebrauch des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Zs. f. d. Wortforschung*, xii (1910), 194. Upon the pre-Schlegelian vicissitudes of 'romantisch' I hope to offer some notes on another occasion.

there was in the meaning of this notoriously multivocal word that made it seem to them the most fitting to inscribe upon their banners.

The answer to this question which for nearly half a century has been the usual one was apparently first propounded by Haym. The key to the two Schlegels' use of the expression Haym sought in a correlation of the celebrated *Fragment*<sup>3</sup> in which "die romantische Poesie" is dithyrambically defined, with Friedrich's essay on *Wilhelm Meister* in the same number of the *Athenæum*. The program of the æsthetic revolution which the young enthusiasts proposed to carry out was, Haym declares, inspired and shaped chiefly by their admiration for the models lately set by Goethe; and for Friedrich, Goethe's masterpiece was *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. His first acquaintance with this novel was to him the revelation of a new poetic *genre*, comprehending and transcending all others. Consequently Schlegel,

"immer bereit zu neuen Konstruktionen und neuen Formeln, schöpft aus dem Wilhelm Meister die Lehre, dass der echte Roman ein *non plus ultra*, eine Summe alles Poetischen sei, und er bezeichnet folgerecht dieses poetische Ideal mit dem Namen der 'romantischen' Dichtung."<sup>4</sup>

According to this explanation, therefore, 'romantisch' was to Schlegel equivalent in meaning to 'romanartig'; it at the same time involved a special reference to Goethe's novel as the archetype of all *Romane*; the adoption of it as the designation of the 'poetisches Maximum' implied the thesis of the superiority of the *Roman* over all other *genres*; and it was from the characteristics of *Meister* that the general notion of 'the Romantic,' at least as an æsthetic category, was derived.<sup>5</sup>

This account of the matter has since 1870 been repeated by many writers, and appears still to be one of the common-places of the manuals of German literature, of the encyclopædias, and even of monographs on Romanticism. Thus Thomas writes: "By a juggle of words *Romanpoesie* became *romantische Poesie*, and Schlegel proceeded to define 'romantic' as an ideal of perfection, having

<sup>3</sup> No. 116 in Minor's numbering: *Fr. Schlegel 1794-1802*, herein referred to as *Jugendschriften*.

<sup>4</sup> Haym, *Die romantische Schule*, 1870, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> The other principal source of Romanticism Haym found in Fichte's philosophy; the movement he describes as essentially a combination of *Goethianismus* and *Fichtianismus*.

first abstracted it from the unromantic *Wilhelm Meister*.”<sup>6</sup> Similarly Porterfield in his *German Romanticism* (1914, p. 44): Fr. Schlegel “went to Jena in 1796, where he worked out the theory of Romanticism from Goethe’s ‘Wilhelm Meister.’” Other recent writers who apparently adopt Haym’s view of the importance, in the genesis of Romanticism, of the conception *Roman* and of the model presented in *Meister* are Kircher,<sup>7</sup> Scholl,<sup>8</sup> and Schiele.<sup>9</sup> Marie Joachimi summarily rejects Haym’s explanation of ‘romantic,’ but does not offer any examination of his arguments nor any inductive study of Fr. Schlegel’s use of the term.<sup>10</sup> Walzel’s admirable *Deutsche Romantik* (1908) does not discuss the question directly, though it would seem to be inferable from the general account of the origins of the Romantic ideas given in this volume and in the earlier introduction to *Goethe und die Romantik*,<sup>11</sup> that Walzel does not accept Haym’s theory. The question of the origin and original sense of the term is likewise left undiscussed in Enders’s recent work on Friedrich Schlegel (1913). It is pertinent to the theme of this paper to note also that the authors of at least two recent treatises on Romanticism expressly deny the supposition, prevalent before the publication of Haym’s monumental work, that Fr. Schlegel’s use of ‘romantisch’ is to be understood in the light of the antithesis ‘classical-romantic.’ Thus Kircher: “Es ist der grosse Irrtum, die Antithese des Klassischen und Romantischen in den Mittelpunkt der Schlegelschen Theorie zu stellen. Nie und nirgends ist sie von Fr. Schlegel ausgesprochen worden.”<sup>12</sup>

It is the purpose of the present study to attempt an *Auseinandersetzung* with the still prevalent account of the source and original meaning of the term ‘romantic’ (in its use in the *Frühromantik*) and of the sources and content of the æsthetic and philosophical ideas for which the word stood. Incidentally, the tenability of the last-quoted negations will, I trust, have a good deal of light

<sup>6</sup> *German Literature* (1909), 332.

<sup>7</sup> *Phil. der Romantik* (1906), 163.

<sup>8</sup> “Fr. Schlegel and Goethe” in *PMLA.*, xxi (1906), 128-132.

<sup>9</sup> *Schleiermacher’s Monologen* (1914), xxvii.

<sup>10</sup> *Die Weltanschauung der Romantik* (1905), 118.

<sup>11</sup> Schüddekopf-Walzel in *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, 13 (1898).

<sup>12</sup> *Phil. der Romantik*, 152. Ricarda Huch has expressed a similar view (*Blütezeit der Romantik*, 5th ed., 52).

thrown upon it. What is, for the purpose in hand, necessary first of all is a consideration of the two writings of Schlegel's upon which Haym chiefly based his interpretation.

The *Meister-Aufsatz*, by itself, has nothing whatever to say, expressly or by any clear implication,<sup>13</sup> concerning the meaning of the term "romantische Poesie." True it is that Schlegel therein speaks of Goethe's novel with ardent enthusiasm, that he finds in it many of the traits elsewhere enumerated among the characteristics of 'romantic' poetry, that he sees in it the dawn of a new day in German, and even in European, literature. All this, however, falls far short of a proof of the equation: "romantische Poesie" = "Romanpoesie" = writings possessed of the qualities of *Wilhelm Meister*. But it can not be denied that *Fragment* 116—the one beginning: "die romantische Poesie ist eine progressive Universalpoesie"—reads as if it meant by "romantische Poesie" simply "der Roman" as a *genre*. For it speaks of the type of "poetry" which it defines, as a "Form" or "Dichtart," distinct from other recognized *genres*. In the following sentence, in particular, the identification of "die romantische Poesie" with the novel seems almost explicit: "Es giebt keine Form, die so dazu gemacht wäre, den Geist des Autors vollständig auszudrücken: so dass manche Künstler, die nur auch einen Roman schreiben wollten, von ungefähr sich selbst dargestellt haben." There are also in other *Fragmente* some indications of a disposition to assign an especially typical significance to the *Roman* in general, as a characteristically modern and a peculiarly adequate vehicle of self-expression; *e. g.*, *Lyc.-Fgm.* 78:

"Mancher der vortrefflichsten Romane ist ein Compendium, eine Encyclopädie des ganzen geistigen Lebens eines genialischen Individuums; Werke die das sind, selbst in ganz andrer Form, wie der Nathan, bekommen dadurch einen Anstrich vom Roman."

And in *Ath.-Fgm.* 146, Friedrich Schlegel remarks that all modern poetry "has a tinge" of the character of the *Roman*.

Yet if this be the derivation and original meaning, for the *Romantiker*, of "romantische Poesie," one is confronted with an odd and incongruous fact: namely, that none of their subsequent

<sup>13</sup> The adjective occurs three times in a colloquial but vague sense, without reference to any special type or tendency in the history of literature—and therefore without pertinency to the question dealt with in this paper.

explanations of the term betray any knowledge of this meaning, or are in the least reconcilable with it. Only two years later (1800) in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* contained in the third volume of the *Athenæum*, Fr. Schlegel puts into the mouth of one of the interlocutors of his dialogue an entirely plain account of what the word meant for him, from what it was derived, and in what authors the qualities supposed to be connoted by it were supremely exemplified:

“Ich habe ein bestimmtes Merkmal des Gegensatzes zwischen dem Antiken und dem Romantischen aufgestellt. Indessen bitte ich Sie doch, nun nicht sogleich anzunehmen, dass mir das Romantische und das Moderne völlig gleich gelte.”

There are, that is, modern poems which are not romantic, *e. g.*, *Emilia Galotti*, which is “so unaussprechlich modern und doch im geringsten nicht romantisch.” To know what is truly romantic one must turn to Shakespeare,

“in den ich das eigentliche Centrum, den Kern der romantischen Fantasie setzen möchte. Da suche und finde ich das Romantische, bey den ältern Modernen, bey Shakespeare, Cervantes, in der italiänischen Poesie, in jenem Zeitalter der Ritter, der Liebe und der Mährchen, aus welchem die Sache und das Wort selbst herstammt. Dieses ist bis jetzt das einzige was einen Gegensatz zu den klassischen Dichtungen des Alterthums abgeben kann.”<sup>14</sup>

The dialogue also, it is true, “defines” a “Roman” (by which is meant, a good “Roman”) as “ein romantisches Buch”; but it by no means affirms the converse of this definition. On the contrary, “das Drama so gründlich und historisch wie es Shakespeare z. B. nimmt und behandelt, ist die wahre Grundlage des Romans.” Nor

<sup>14</sup> *Athenæum*, III, 122-3. Cf. id., 121: “das Eigenthümliche der Tendenz der romantischen Dichtkunst im Gegensatz der antiken;” 79, “es gelang dem Guarini, im *Pastorido*, den romantischen Geist und die classische Bildung zur schönsten Harmonie zu verschmelzen.” There are, it should be added, half a dozen instances of “romantisch” in the dialogue in which the word refers, not to a class of literature, but to a quality or spirit supposed to be characteristic of that class. *E. g.*, 83: “Spenser gab seinem (Shakespeare’s) neuen romantischen Schwunge Nahrung”; “diese Ausbildung hauchte allen seinen Dramen den romantischen Geist ein, . . . und sie zu einer romantischen Grundlage des modernen Dramas constituirt, die dauerhaft genug ist für ewige Zeiten”; 107: “Jedes Gedicht soll eigentlich romantisch und jedes soll didaktisch seyn.” This use is, of course, entirely in keeping with the definition cited above; the romantic spirit is a somewhat which is “eigenthümlich modern.”

is anything of the nature of a narration or "history" essential to a romantic work: "Ein Lied eben so gut romantisch sein kann als eine Geschichte."<sup>15</sup>

It is, indeed, true that one of the interlocutors in the dialogue reads an essay *Ueber den verschiedenen Styl in Goethe's früheren und späteren Werken*, in which *Wilhelm Meister* is even more highly praised than in Schlegel's essay of two years earlier. But the use of the word "romantisch" in this essay is significant. Goethe is *not* spoken of as the typical representative of romantic poetry; his greatness is regarded by the imaginary author of the essay as consisting rather in his having accomplished "the ultimate task of all poetry," namely, "die Harmonie des Classischen und des Romantischen." Everywhere in *Meister* "der antike Geist" is evident behind the modern envelope. "Die beyden künstlichsten und verstandvollsten Kunstwerke im ganzen Gebiet der romantischen Kunst" are Hamlet and Don Quixote; it is "they alone which admit of a comparison with Goethe's universality." Here Goethe seemingly outranks his great precursors; but he is at the same time placed outside the "Gebiet der romantischen Kunst." And it is important to remember that, in the course of the discussion, this enthusiastic glorification of Goethe is somewhat severely handled by the other interlocutors. Antonio complains that "die Urtheile darin etwas zu imperatorisch ausgedrückt sind. Es könnte doch seyn, dass noch Leute hinter dem Berge wohnten, die von einem und dem andern eine durchaus andre Ansicht hätten."<sup>16</sup> More-

<sup>15</sup> Schlegel's "Antonio" in his *Brief über den Roman* (*Ath.*, III, 123). In the version of the *Gespräch über die Poesie* which appears in the collected works of Schlegel, there is added, as a sort of conclusion of the whole matter, a long speech by another interlocutor, Lothario, which places the *genre* to which both the novel and the drama belong upon a lower plane than the epic, "der einer tieferen Naturquelle entspringt und . . . die Seele der Poesie ist," and ascribes the highest rank of all to lyrical poetry, especially the religious lyric (*Werke*, 1846, v, 240). Since this passage does not appear in the original *Athenæum* text, it cannot be cited as evidence for the ideas of the early Romantic school.

<sup>16</sup> In the text of the dialogue in the Collected Works this comment reads: "Es könnte doch seyn, dass in andern, uns noch entfernten Regionen der unermesslichen Kunstwelt, diese neue Kunstsonne welche Sie uns aufgestellt haben, von jenen fernen Planetenbewohnern, ganz anders angesehen würde, und ihnen in einem andern minder stark glänzenden Lichte erschiene" (v, 236).

over, most of the participants in the dialogue point out that precisely that "unification of the ancient and the modern" for which Goethe had been chiefly eulogized, is a thing intrinsically impossible of achievement. Certainly in their metrical forms, urges one speaker, ancient and modern poetry remain forever opposed; there is no *tertium quid* in which the æsthetic values of the one form and of the other can be combined. Nor, adds another speaker, can the qualities of ancient and modern diction coexist. And, observes a third, in the all-important matter of the "Behandlung der Charaktere und Leidenschaften" the methods and aims of ancient and modern poetry are "absolutely different" and uncombinable. In the former, the characters are "idealisch gedacht, und plastisch ausgeführt, wie die alten Götterbilder"; in the moderns, on the contrary, "ist der Charakter entweder wirklich geschichtlich, oder doch so construirt, als ob er es wäre; die Ausführung hingegen ist mehr mahlerisch individuell, nach Art der sprechenden Aehnlichkeit im Porträt." Finally, Lothario plainly declares that no tragic poet can serve two masters, can be strictly classical and typically romantic at once. The reason why the subject-matter of "ancient" tragedies, or of modern imitations of them, must be mythological, not historical, is because we now demand in the case of an historical theme "die moderne Behandlungsart der Charaktere, welche dem Geist des Alterthums schlechthin widerspricht. Der Künstler würde da auf eine oder die andre Art gegen die alte Tragödie oder gegen die romantische den kürzern ziehen müssen."<sup>17</sup>

Schlegel's explanations of the meaning of 'romantisch,' as an historico-critical term, in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* are, of course, duly noted by Haym, when in the course of his treatise he comes to deal with that writing. Their incompatibility with the earlier explanation based upon *Fragment* 116 in the first volume of the *Athenæum* is recognized by him.<sup>18</sup> These explanations in

<sup>17</sup> *Ath.*, III, 186-187. It is an odd commentary upon the supposed derivation of the idea of "romantische Poesie" from *Wilhelm Meister*, that early in 1799 we find Fr. Schlegel welcoming Tieck's *Sternbalds Wanderungen* (1798) as "der erste Roman seit Cervantes, der romantisch ist, und darüber weit über Meister" (*Briefe an seinen Bruder*, 414).

<sup>18</sup> Haym had, however, in his original presentation of this explanation quite unjustifiably claimed for it the sanction of Schlegel's usage in this dialogue: "Der Schlüssel zum Verständniss liegt in erster Linie darin, dass romantische Poesie einfach für Romanpoesie gesetzt ist. . . . Der



1800 Haym is compelled to regard as a revision of Fr. Schlegel's earlier conception of "romantische Poesie." "Formerly Schlegel had, it is true, derived this conception, at least in the main, from the *Roman*; now, while the same derivation is still fundamental, he emphasizes more strongly than before the historical relations of the conception."<sup>19</sup> And by the time of A. W. Schlegel's Berlin lectures (1801-1804) the change to a "new and more difficult conception of the Romantic has become entirely explicit (ganz herausgerückt)."<sup>20</sup>

What I wish to show is that this supposed later sense of "romantische Poesie" is in reality the primary one; that *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, in so far it uses the term in the sense of "Romanpoesie" or merely "Roman," is a momentary and misleading aberration from an all but constant usage, before, during and after 1798; and that Haym's emphasis upon the *Roman* in general, and upon *Wilhelm Meister* in particular, as the source from which Schlegel drew the idea of 'romantic poetry,' throws the history of the genesis of Romanticism very seriously out of perspective.

Haym himself has noted that Schlegel occasionally, especially in his earliest publication, uses the word "romantisch" with reference to "das epische Rittergedicht," and also with the meaning of 'medieval and early modern poetry in general.'<sup>21</sup> Examples of

gleiche Sprachgebrauch herrscht ganz unzweifelhaft in Schlegel's späterem 'Gespräch über die Poesie.'" (*Die rom. Schule*, 252.)

<sup>19</sup> *Die rom. Schule*, 688-9.

<sup>20</sup> Op. cit. 803. The elder Schlegel's explanations of the term in these lectures are here duly summarized by Haym; but it is perhaps worth while to recall two of the most significant passages. In the introduction to his third series Wilhelm Schlegel declares that he hopes speedily to remove any doubt "ob es denn wirklich eine romantische, d. h. eigenthümlich moderne, nicht nach den Mustern des Alterthums gebildete Poesie gebe." And the employment of the adjective "romantisch" to express this idea is justified as follows: "Ich will hier bemerken, dass der Name *romantische* Poesie auch in dieser historischen Rücksicht treffend gewählt sey. Denn Romanisch, *Romanee*, nannte man die neuen aus der Vermischung des Lateinischen mit der Sprache der Eroberer entstandnen Dialekte; daher Romane, die darin geschriebnen Dichtungen, woher denn romantisch abgeleitet ist, und ist der Charakter dieser Poesie Verschmelzung des altdeutschen mit dem späteren, d. h. christlich gewordenen Römischen, so werden auch ihre Elemente schon durch den Namen angedeutet." (*Vorlesungen über schöne Litt. u. Kunst*, ed. by Minor, 1884, III, 7 and 17.

<sup>21</sup> Haym, 251 and note.

these uses, however, are far more numerous in all periods than Haym indicates. Some additional examples are worth citing.

On February 27, 1794, Friedrich writes to his brother that the problem of the poetry of their age seems to him to be that of "die Vereinigung des Wesentlich-Modernen mit dem Wesentlich-Antiken"; and adds by way of explanation:

"Wenn Du den Geist des Dante, vielleicht auch des Shakespear erforschest und lehrest, so wird es leichter seyn, dasjenige was ich vorhin das *Wesentlich-Moderne* nannte, und was ich vorzüglich in diesen beyden Dichtern finde, kennen zu lernen. Wie viel würde dazu auch die Geschichte der romantischen Poesie beytragen, zu der du einmal den Plan fasstest?—Die Geschichte des neuern Dramas und des Romans wäre dann vielleicht nicht so schwer."<sup>22</sup>

With the problem which here preoccupies the younger brother we are not, for the moment, concerned. Suffice it here to note that a "history of romantic poetry" would apparently (though the language is not unequivocal) deal with Shakespeare and Dante, and clearly would *not* include the more recent drama and the novel; and that the conceptions of "romantic" poetry and of "the essentially modern" are already closely united in Schlegel's mind.

In the essay *Ueber das Studium der griechischen Poesie* (1794-5) the term "romantische Poesie" constantly occurs, sometimes as a designation for the romances of chivalry, sometimes with the broader meaning already noted, of 'medieval and early modern literature.' It is perhaps in the former sense that Schlegel uses the expression when, in justification of his assertion that Shakespeare is "the most complete and most characteristic representative of the spirit of modern poetry," he writes:

"In ihm vereinigen sich die reizendsten Blüten der Romantischen Phantasie, die gigantische Grösse der gothischen Heldenzeit, mit den feinsten Zügen moderner Geselligkeit," usw.<sup>23</sup>

The broader sense, however, appears to be intended in the passage in which Schlegel, lamenting the literary degeneracy of later ages, asks:

"Was ist die Poesie der spätern Zeit als ein Chaos aus dürftigen Fragmenten der romantischen Poesie? . . . So flickten Barbaren

<sup>22</sup> Walzel, *Fr. Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder*, 170. This contemplated "History of Romantic Poetry" is again referred to in a letter of Dec. 7, 1794.

<sup>23</sup> Minor, *Jugendschriften*, I, 107.

aus schönen Fragmenten einer bessern Welt Gothische Gebäude zusammen." <sup>24</sup>

In February of 1798—i. e., almost at the moment of the composition of the essay on *Meister* and the *Fragmente* in the *Athenæum*, Friedrich proposed to his brother that they should write jointly a series of "Letters on Shakespeare," which should include, among other things, "eine Charakteristik aller romantischen Komödien," "eine Theorie der romantischen Komödien, mit Vergleichung von Shakespeare's Nebenmänner, Gozzi, die Spanier, Guarini, etc."; and a "Charakteristik des romantischen Witzes, mit Rücksicht auf Ariost und Cervantes." Examples of a similar use in the *Gespräch über die Poesie* have already been cited. In the second volume of the *Athenæum* (II, 324) Schlegel, speaking of the lack of a good German translation of Don Quixote, writes: "Ein Dichter und vertrauter Freund der alten romantischen Poesie, wie Tieck muss es seyn, der diesen Mangel ersetzen will." Instances of the same general sense in writings of Fr. Schlegel after the *Athenæum* period are frequent: e. g., in the essay on Boccaccio, 1801, he speaks of "die ursprüngliche Fabel von Florio und Blancheffeure" as "eine romantische Dichtung," and comments on "die kindliche Einfalt des romantischen Märchens." <sup>25</sup> In the edition of Schlegel's collected works prepared for publication by himself he brings together, under the designation of "Beyträge zur romantischen Dichtkunst," four essays, dealing with Boccaccio, with Camoens, and other early Portuguese and Spanish and Italian

<sup>24</sup> Minor, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Other examples of 'romantisch' in the same essay are: "Die Phantasterey der romantischen Poesie"; "die moderne Ritter der romantischen Poesie"; Ariosto und "andre scherzhaft romantischen Dichter"; "der Fantasie-Zauber der romantischen Sage und Dichtung"; "jene seltsame Muse der romantischen Spiele und Rittermärchen"; "die fantastische Gestalten der romantischen Dichtkunst"; "Wieland's romantische Gedichte"; "Tasso hat sich von der romantischen Manier nicht weit entfernt"; "Versuche, die romantische Fabel oder die christliche Legende in einen idealischen schönen Mythos zu metamorphosiren." Schlegel once speaks of "das Romantische Gedicht der Griechischen und Römischen Epopoë," in a passage in which he is bringing out the similarity between the Homeric epic and the romances of chivalry. Of 'romantisch' in the sense 'romanartig' there seems, besides *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, to be only one (probable) example: *Lyc.-Fgm.* 49.

<sup>25</sup> *Werke*, 1864, VIII, 13.

poets, with "Northern Poetry" (Ossian, the Edda, the Nibelungenlied, etc.), and with Shakespeare.

Thus the adjective "romantisch," as applied to classes or bodies of literature or to individual writings was in habitual use by Fr. Schlegel throughout the seventeen-nineties, and subsequently, as an ordinary historical epithet. When, therefore, he rhapsodized over "romantische Poesie" in the best known of the *Athenæumsfragmente*, he was not coining a new term, nor even employing one unusual in his circle. If—as I do not deny—Haym's interpretation of this *Fragment* is correct, Schlegel was there using the word in a very unusual and paradoxical sense. *Romantische Poesie* as equivalent to *Romanpoesie*, or *der Roman*, is almost a *ἄραξ λεγόμενον*, incongruous even with the senses of the word in other *Athenæumsfragmente*. When Shakespeare's universality is said to be "der Mittelpunkt der romantischen Kunst," it is manifest that *romantisch* can not refer to a *genre* of which Shakespeare offers no examples. When it is declared that "aus dem romantischen Gesichtspunkt," the very *Abarten* of poetry, even the eccentric and the monstrous, have their value as aids to universality ("provided only they be original"), it seems improbable that nothing more than the 'novelistic' point of view is meant.

It is, in any case, evident that in the *Athenæum*, and thereafter, *romantisch*, as a term of literary criticism, no longer merely denotes either a certain class of writings or a certain period of the history of literature. The word is now all compact of æsthetic and philosophical connotations. There is now, as we have seen, not only a body of poetry which is called *romantisch*, but also *ein romantischer Gesichtspunkt*. The essential question, then, is: From what more concrete sense did this larger, philosophical meaning of the term *romantische Poesie* develop? Haym's interpretation implies that it was derived primarily from reflection upon the nature of the *Roman* as a *genre*, and above all from a generalization of the æsthetic qualities illustrated, and the æsthetic principles inculcated, in Goethe's *Roman*. This view will, in the second part of this study, be shown to be erroneous. I shall there endeavor to prove that the conception of Romantic art was virtually completely formulated by Fr. Schlegel *before* his acquaintance with *Wilhelm Meister*, and before his own conversion to the "romantic point of view"; that this conversion, moreover, was probably not due to

the influence of Goethe, but partly to other external influences and partly to the 'immanent logic' of his own earlier æsthetic principles; and that, therefore, the emphasis upon *Fgm.* 116 and upon the relation of the meaning of *romantisch* to the *Roman* and to *Meister* (for which Haym is chiefly responsible) tends to obscure the real origins both of the name, and (which is much more important) of the idea, of 'the Romantic,' in its æsthetic and philosophical signification.

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### SHAKESPEARE AND GRILLPARZER

Just one week after I had sent my doctor's dissertation off to be printed and while I was filled with the good bourgeois sentiment of being thrice happy at seeing my labors well begun, there arrived the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1915 containing a very interesting essay, "Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare," by Dr. Edgar Gross. My work will not be printed, for, altho richer in illustrations, it contains very little that Dr. Gross has not stated better in his article. The spirit and the essence of both are exactly the same.

It is surprising how very similar the two dissertations are even down to the phrasing of certain ideas. For example, I pointed out the irony which lay in the fact that Grillparzer, a most subjective poet, should be expressing great surprise at the fact that men of fine taste like Voltaire or Byron did not recognize the full beauty of Shakespeare. In this connection I used a phrase which I thought of as a product of my present study of Kant; I said that Grillparzer was trying to find the "Shakespeare an sich." Gross says on page 3: "Er wollte zu der Poesie an sich gelangen." A few lines below this we read that according to his standard of "absolute poetry" Grillparzer selected his literary favorites, whose number, owing to the high demands made on them, was very small, but therefor all the more faithful companions thruout the course of his long and lonesome life. I had selected as the title of my thesis, "Grillparzer's Lifelong Friend, Shakespeare." In both dissertations Schreyvogel is mentioned as the one who opened Grillparzer's eyes to a complete understanding of Shakespeare's greatness.